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ABSTRACT

This paper describes the construction of an alternative framework for minority, specifically Chicano, student participation in predominantly Anglo colleges and universities. The framework described in this paper is based on a two-year, in-depth study investigating the experiences and actions of two first-generation college students who identify themselves as Chicano. Through interpretation of interviews, observations, and documents, an in-depth understanding of the nature of their experiences and actions on a predominately Anglo university in the Southwest United States was gained. The culmination of this understanding was captured in the construction of a grounded (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), conceptual framework. Development of the framework took place in three stages: first, the role of students as cultural workers was posited, highlighting the ways in which the students took active roles in fighting their marginalization. The next stage focused on the ways in which Chicano culture provided "cultural nourishment" for the students in their role as cultural workers. Finally, the framework suggests that students seek to provide synthesis between their own culture and the university culture in such a way that it creates cultural transformation and liberation. (Contains 17 references.) (Author/MAB)

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STUDENT AS CULTURAL WORKER: A DIALECTICAL FRAMEWORK

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STUDENT AS CULTURAL WORKER: A DIALECTICAL FRAMEWORK

ABSTRACT

This paper describes the construction of an alternative framework for minority, specifically Chicano, student participation in predominantly Anglo colleges and universities. The framework described in this paper is based on a two-year, in-depth study investigating the experiences and actions of two, first-generation college students who identify themselves as Chicanos. Through interpretation of interviews, observations, and documents, the author gained an in-depth understanding of the nature of their experiences and actions on a predominately Anglo university in the Southwest. The culmination of this understanding was captured in the construction of a grounded (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), conceptual framework.

STUDENT AS CULTURAL WORKER: A DIALECTICAL FRAMEWORK

INTRODUCTION

In the fall, 1992 issue of the *Journal of Higher Education*, Tierney provided a critique of Tinto's (1987) widely accepted model of student departure from colleges and universities. Central to his critique was Tinto's misinterpretation of the anthropological notions of ritual. Tierney pointed out that Tinto borrowed the anthropological term ritual, but extracted the term from its cultural foundations. As a result, Tierney argued that Tinto had created a theoretical construct, in this case "social integration," with implications that hold potentially harmful consequences for racial and ethnic minorities. One harmful consequence of Tinto's model is that for racial and ethnic minority students to persist in college, they must first go through a "cultural suicide" of their own culture in order to become socially integrated (or assimilated) into the dominate, Anglo, culture of their college or university. To conclude his critique, Tierney called for alternative frameworks related to racial and ethnic minorities--frameworks that would "move beyond social integration and assimilation and toward a framework of emancipation and empowerment (p. 616)."

While Tierney's critique of Tinto has merit, many subsequent studies of minority student participation in colleges and universities still use Tinto's model as their theoretical framework (Cabrera, Nora, & Castaneda, 1992 and 1993; May, Murguia, & Padilla, 1995; Kraemer, 1997). Why do subsequent studies of minority student participation in colleges and universities still use Tinto's model if it does have such potentially harmful consequences for racial and ethnic minorities? One reason may be that there are not yet alternative models for minority student participation in colleges and universities that are as comprehensive and have the explanatory power of Tinto's model (Cabrera, Nora, & Castaneda, 1993).

PURPOSE AND GUIDING QUESTIONS

The purpose of this paper is to describe the construction of an alternative framework for minority student participation in predominantly Anglo colleges and universities, specifically

Chicano student participation. The framework described in this paper is based on a two-year, in-depth study investigating the experiences and actions of two, first-generation college students who identify themselves as Chicanos. Through interpretation of interviews, observations, and documents, I was able to gain an in-depth understanding of the nature of their experiences and actions on a predominantly Anglo university in the southwest. The culmination of this understanding was captured in the construction of a grounded (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), conceptual framework. Specifically, my study was guided by the following research questions: (a) what is the nature of the participant's experiences during their first two years of college? (b) how do these students negotiate their university experience? Specifically, what actions do they take in the negotiation of their university experience?

METHODS

A qualitative research design was employed in this study for two reasons. First, the research questions guiding this study seek to uncover a social process, as opposed to establishing a relationship between two or more variables. Qualitative researchers (Maxwell, 1993; Ragin, 1987) argue that a qualitative research design is more appropriate for understanding a social process than a quantitative design. Second, the goal for this study was to construct an alternative framework for minority student participation in predominantly Anglo colleges and universities, specifically Chicano student participation. Qualitative researchers also argue that theory construction is better suited for a qualitative design.

Specifically, this study employed a concept modeling research design. Concept modeling, as defined by Padilla (1991), is a method of describing and understanding social situations. The experiences and actions of two Chicano students on a predominately Anglo university in the southwest is the social situation to be described and understood in this study. The concept modeling approach begins by gathering relevant data about the situation. This may be done by directly observing the situation and recording field notes, by acquiring and reading documents relevant to the situation, and by interviewing actors who are part of the situation. Once relevant

data are collected, the next step toward explaining the situation is to identify the various assertions contained in the field data and organize them into a coherent whole. This aspect of the method is similar to the work of Frederick Erickson (1996) who states:

A report of field work research contains empirical assertions that vary in scope and in level of inference. One basic task of data analysis is to generate these assertions, largely through induction. This is done by searching the data corpus -- reviewing the full set of field notes, interview notes or audiotapes, site documents, and audio-visual recordings. Another basic task is to establish an evidentiary warrant for the assertions one wishes to make. This is done by reviewing the data corpus repeatedly to test the validity of the assertions that were generated, seeking disconfirming evidence as well as confirming evidence. (p. 146).

It should be noted, however, that Padilla has made important modifications to Erickson's work within the method of concept modeling. The key modification is in the conceptualization of the term assertion. Whereas Erickson views an assertion as a statement made by the researcher about the data, Padilla sees an assertion as both a statement made by the researcher about the data "and" a statement made by the research participant about her/his experience. In fact, according to Padilla, assertions or statements made by the researcher about the data are inductively derived from assertions made by the participants about their experiences. In order to avoid confusion, Padilla views the researcher's assertions collectively as the concept model itself and reserves the term assertion to statements made by the participants about their experiences.

Padilla notes that the difficult analytical task in the process of identifying assertions is to organize them into a coherent explanation of the situation. Consequently, in the concept modeling approach, assertions in the field data are used to define specific concepts. Once concepts are identified and defined by assertions in the field data, an examination of the relationships between concepts is conducted. The explanation of the situation is rendered as a result of identifying the relationships between concepts. This is the basic outline of the concept modeling of a social situation. This method will be discussed in greater detail in the data analysis section. The

following sections will provide a detailed discussion of the research site, the methods of data collection, and the process of data analysis.

Research Site and Participants

The site for this study was a large, predominately Anglo university located near a large metropolitan city in the Southwest. Two male undergraduate students, who identified themselves as Chicanos, participated in this two-year study beginning in January of 1995 of their freshmen year and concluding in December of 1996. Both students, identified in this paper as Steve and Luis, were the first in their family to attend a college or university. Steve's parents have no formal education. Luis' father reached the eighth grade. Both students are first generation Mexican Americans.

Data Collection

Observations, individual interviews, and document acquisition were the primary methods of data collection and therefore, constitute the data set. Each method and source of data collection will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

Observations

Observations, or what I call "shadowing," occurred approximately once a month (totaling 20) and involved observing the participant's day's activities throughout a six to eight hour period. On most occasions, I would meet the participants at their dorm room and "shadow" (observe) them as they went to class, met friends for lunch, and participated in student organizations meetings. Other places of observation included their dorm room, study session areas, workplace, computing centers, and the student union.

Interviews

Participation in this research study also involved bi-monthly audiotaped interviews (totaling 32). The interviews were conducted in the participant's dorm room. The purpose of the interviews was to capture the experiences and actions of the research participants during their first two years of college. An oral history (Martin, 1995) format was used for the individual interviews

focusing on the time periods that led up to their arrival on campus through their second year of college.

Document Acquisition

In addition to observations and interviews, individual journals were collected twice a semester.

Data Analysis

As mentioned earlier, the data set was analyzed utilizing the concept modeling approach (Padilla, 1991). A concept model is a visual representation of the research findings. The concept modeling approach utilized for this research study involved two stages: analysis and synthesis

Analysis

This first stage of analysis involved a process of taking the data set apart and breaking it down into parts. Fundamental in this stage was the identification of relevant assertions. Assertions, for this study, refer to as statements made by research participants in the data set that are logically, grammatically, and semantically complete. For instance, "I came to this new university because of my parents" is an example of an assertion in the field data. Padilla (1991) notes that assertions can be either simple or complex. He states, that simple assertions make only one statement, while complex assertions "may include more than one semantic expression or logical relationship (p. 265)." The mechanics of data analysis involve giving a code to each relevant assertion. Coding begins as an inductive process of low level inference and involves preliminary searching through the data set for relevant assertions. This is similar to Glaser and Strauss' (1967) process of open coding.

A qualitative analysis computer software program, HyperQual2 (Padilla, 1992), was used to code the assertions. HyperQual2 is a software program for entering, accessing, and linking data. This program also proved useful as I entered the second stage of analysis: synthesis

Synthesis

The synthesis stage involved two subsequent processes: discovering concepts and discovering relationships between concepts. Discovering concepts is a process of data reduction in

which similar low level of inference codes, representing relevant assertions, are grouped together under a higher level of inference concept. At this point, existing codes can be thought of as exemplars of discovered concepts. The process of discovering concepts is accomplished by utilizing the constant-comparative method of Glaser and Struss (1967). It should be noted that the concepts will be inductively discovered and "grounded" in the sense that they will be derived from coded data. In addition to discovering relevant concepts, this stage of synthesis also employed a testing of the validity of the concepts by seeking confirming and disconfirming evidence (Erickson, 1986).

Once all relevant concepts were identified and tested for confirming and disconfirming evidence, an examination of the relationships between the concepts was employed. The constant comparative method was utilized for this process as well. Specifically, all grounded concepts were compared with each other with the purpose of understanding how they related to one another. The identification of the relationships between concepts resulted in the concept model. The concept model visually represents the relationships between the concepts and the social situation of the study.

Validity Issues

The basic underlying stance towards the validity of the findings of any qualitative research study is coherence validity. In other words, are the findings credible, authentic, and have a feel of verisimilitude? Two forms of assessment for the validity of the research findings were employed following the work of Erickson (1986) and Glaser (1978). Erickson outlines five problematic issues that could lessen the research finding's coherence validity: (a) sufficient amount of time studying and/or interacting with the phenomenon under investigation (b) data are not sufficiently varied (c) researcher has not tested the assertions, in this case concepts and their relationships, for confirming and disconfirming evidence (d) researcher has not had enough psychological access to attain an effective level of *verstehen* or empathetic understanding and (e) the account does not seem authentic or have a feel of verisimilitude. For this study, each of these issues were addressed by

documenting the length of time in the field, utilizing varied data, and testing the concepts and their relationships for confirming and disconfirming evidence.

Since a goal of this research study is to develop a concept model or visual representation of the research findings, Glaser's (1978) assessment of the validity of a grounded theory also was employed. Glaser states that a discovered grounded theory or model requires a good fit, that it must work, and that it must be relevant to the data. By fit, Glaser means that the categories of the theory or model must fit the data. He argues that the "data should not be forced or selected to fit pre-conceived or pre-existent categories (p. 33)." By work, Glaser means that a theory should be able to "explain what happened, predict what will happen, and interpret what is happening (p. 33)." Finally, Glaser argues for the need to attain relevance. He states that in using pre-conceived categories or theories relevance is missing automatically because core problems and processes have not emerged from the data.

In addition to fit, work, and relevance needed for a valid grounded theory or model, Glaser also argues that a theory needs to be useful, to be as dense and as complex as the phenomenon studied, and to be reported in a way that the thinking process of the researcher is clearly visible by the audience. For this study, these issues were addressed during the construction and presentation of the concept model.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The first significant finding of this study was the forms of alienation and marginalization that these students experienced. I could hear and see how they were alienated and marginalized by the various contradictions they experienced on campus. The origins of these contradictions were rooted in three asymmetrical "systems of representation (Althusser, 1971)." These three systems of representation I refer to as *the social world*, *the physical world*, and *the epistemological world*.

What I mean by the *social world*, is a system of representations which includes the racial and ethnic make-up of individuals and groups on campus, the power relationships that exist between and within these groups, and the language utilized between and within these groups.

Within the social world, these students experienced alienation and marginalization due to a lack of Chicano representation in the students, staff, and faculty on campus, the lack of political power these groups possessed, and the lack of the Spanish language spoken on campus. For example, in a state where over 20 percent of its population is Hispanic, the university that these students must survive in has a Chicano/Hispanic student population of less than 9 percent, a Chicano/Hispanic faculty population of less than 3 percent, and a Chicano/Hispanic administrator population of less than 2 percent.

What I mean by the *physical world*, is a system of representations which includes such things as the physical spacing that exists on campus, the architecture of the campus buildings, campus sculptures, and other physical symbols found on campus such as posters and flyers. Within the physical world, alienation and marginalization was experienced due to a lack of Chicano representation in the architecture of the buildings, sculptures, banners, posters, and other physical symbols found on campus. For example, on a university campus composed of over eighty buildings, only two possess any sculptures or other artwork representing the Chicano culture.

What I mean by the *epistemological world*, is a system of representations which includes the knowledge that exists and is exchanged within various social spaces on campus. Within the epistemological world, these students experienced alienation and marginalization due to a lack of Chicano knowledge existing and being exchanged on campus. For example, at this university less than three percent of the university curriculum focuses on the Chicano experience.

Upon further analysis, what the contents of each of these worlds indicate is that these students live in a university environment of asymmetrical systems of representation where the dominant Anglo, male, middle-class representations, functioning as key mechanisms toward the reproduction of the existing social order (Althusser, 1971), simultaneously marginalize and alienate the few Chicano representations, and therefore Chicano individuals, struggling for survival.

Although these findings, in and of themselves are significant, the most important understanding I came away with was not how these students experienced these forms of marginalization, but how they resisted and acted back against the dominant culture facilitating such

marginalization. Their resistance and action against the dominate culture was evidenced in their transformation of each of these three worlds.

The Transformation of the Social World

The most salient example of their transformation of the social world occurred in their workplace. As a result of their financial status, both students were eligible for work study and were assigned to work in one of the computing centers on campus. Towards the beginning of my study, I observed them at their workplace and noted their comments about "how boring the job was," and how uncomfortable it felt "being the only two Chicanos that worked there." After a couple of months, however, I noticed that they were able to recruit a few of their friends (other Chicanos) to work at the center. And slowly, but surely the staff became more and more Chicano. In fact, toward the end of my study, I observed Chicanos not only well represented in the staff, but in the student customer population as well. Finally, the students' comfort level had risen so high that it was not uncommon for me to walk into the computing center and hear "Banda" (Mexican) music being played on the radio behind the courtesy desk.

It was interesting to see that six months after these two students had begun working at the computing center that they had facilitated the social transformation of their workplace. A workplace that at first was experienced as uncomfortable and alienating became a place of comfort with the additional representation of Chicanos in both the staff and student customers.

The Transformation of the Physical World

One of the students in the study had the hobby of drawing. He especially liked drawing low-riders and cars of the 1940s. During an interview, while he was showing me one of his latest drawings, he asked me if I knew about the mural he was painting on the wall of the student lounge. I clarified, "you're painting a mural?" "Yea," he answered. "Do you wanna see it?" "Sure," I said. "Let's go." On the way over to the student lounge he explained to me how this project came about. He mentioned that he and his roommate were talking about how "tired they were of walking around campus, looking at the buildings and sculptures, and never seeing anything Mexican or Chicano." From that discussion they decided to investigate the possibility of

painting a mural on the wall of the student lounge. He commented that although the process took over three months, they were finally able to gain approval from the administration. Then, upon walking in and seeing the mural, he explained its significance to me.

Here, unlike the social world, the marginalization they experienced was in a physical form: in this instance, the lack of physical representation of the Chicano culture on campus. In taking action against this marginalization, these students transformed the physical world, in this case, by painting a mural on the wall of the student lounge.

The Transformation of the Epistemological World

Probably the most marginalizing experience for these students was the mis-representation and/or lack of knowledge concerning Chicanos in the university. I observed in their class on multiculturalism their frustration over the lack of knowledge that both the students and professor had concerning the experiences of Chicanos. They were particularly frustrated with being typified as the class experts on Chicanos simply because they were the only Chicanos in the classroom. In response to their frustrations they organized a group of students from MEChA (a Chicano student organization) to come to the class and talk about the history of Chicanos in the Southwest. However, what they were more concerned with was not teaching non-Chicanos about Chicanos, but about creating an epistemological space (Padilla & Montiel, forthcoming) on campus where Chicanos could share and discuss ideas about the Chicano community with each other. As a result, the two students spent much of their time participating in the planning of a regional MEChA (a Chicano student organization) conference where ideas concerning the Chicano community would be discussed.

In this instance, unlike the social and physical world, the marginalization they experienced was epistemological in nature. This form of marginalization resulted from a lack of knowledge existing on campus concerning the experiences of Chicanos. In taking action against this marginalization, these students transformed the epistemological world by both creating new epistemological spaces on campus and challenging existing ones.

THE EMERGENCE OF A FRAMEWORK

What I began to understand about the nature of their experience on campus was that it was fundamentally a struggle -- a struggle in general, but a cultural struggle in particular. What was significant about these two students was that their struggle was not only one of cultural survival, but also of cultural transformation. They were not simply objects, acted upon by a dominant, oppressive environment, but subjects, acting towards the transformation of this environment. These two Chicano students were not simply cultural beings from a minority culture, but cultural workers (Giroux, 1992)--working to transform their cultural environment. In the following sections, I will describe the three stages of the development of my analytical framework.

Stage One of Framework - Student as Cultural Worker

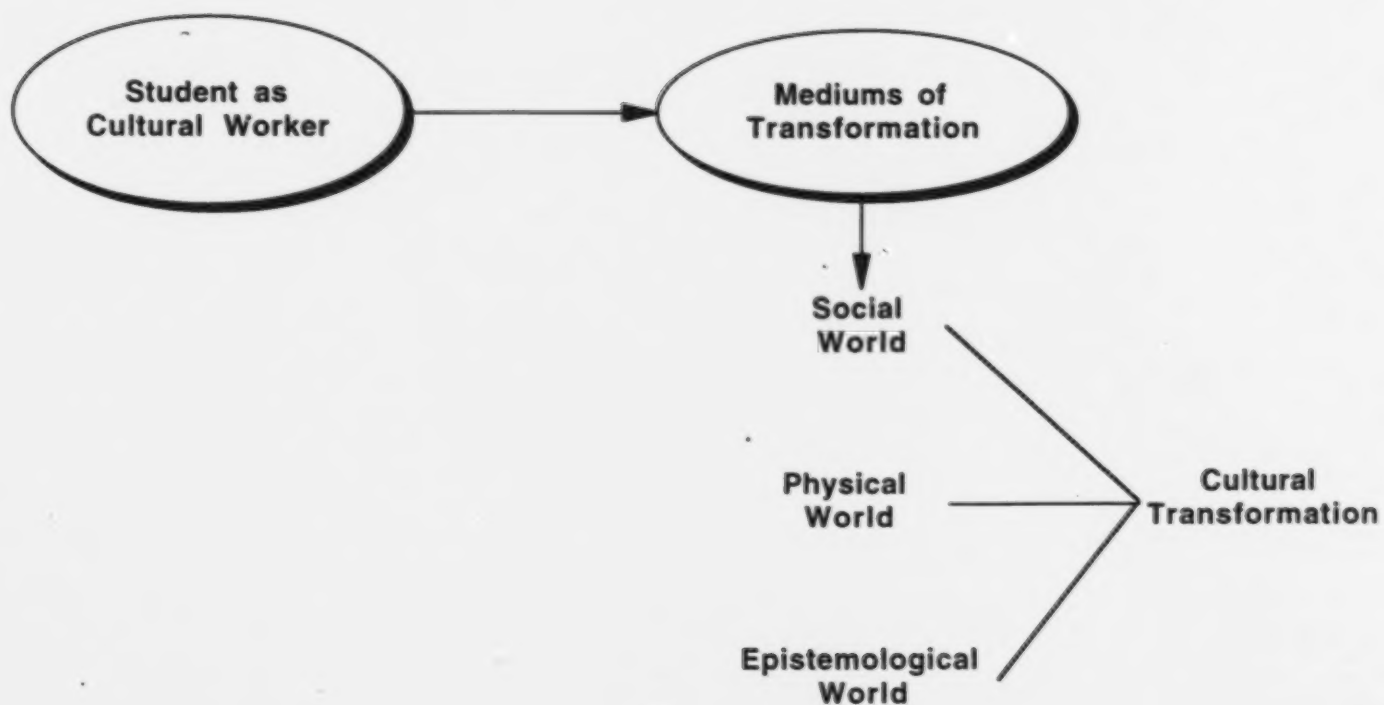
In *Border Crossings*, Henry Giroux (1992) expands the traditional definition of cultural worker as artists, writers, and media producers to the range of cultural work people do in such professions as law, social work, architecture, medicine, theology, education, and literature. In my development of an analytical framework (see Figure 1), I expanded that definition to include the work of students.

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

Like the artist, these students are creators--taking action to create and to transform. While an artist creates with such mediums as canvas, clay, and metal, these student use the social world, the physical world, and the epistemological world as their mediums of transformation. Like many artists, the impetus for their cultural work stems from the daily contradictions they experience as marginalizing. It is these contradictions and forms of marginalization that point to the kind of work these students choose to engage in. Like all artists, their work is cultural in nature, with an emphasis on meaning, expression, and liberation.

Although much can be explained using these concepts, the idea of a student as a cultural worker was helpful to understand other phenomena associated with these students' experiences at the university. As I came to understand the contradictions these students experienced as marginalizing and the actions they took toward the cultural transformation of their environment, I

Figure 1. Stage One of Framework - Student as Cultural Worker



noticed the significant role of five elements in this process. The five elements were *family, friends, role models, language, and existing cultural work* (i.e. music, posters, pictures, paintings, etc.). In fact, it was the understanding of this last category, existing cultural work, that helped me to see the relationship between these five elements with the forms of marginalization the students experienced, and the actions they took as cultural workers.

Stage Two of Framework - Sources of Cultural Nourishment

Throughout the study, one particular issue came up that I had a difficult time understanding; which was the role of music in these students' lives. On most occasions, when I would go to their dorm room for an interview, I could hear their music being played loudly even as I came just near their building. I noted the other students in the dorm complaining about the music being played too loudly. In an interview I asked the students why they had the music playing so loudly, and what they were going to do about all the complaints. The two of them looked at each other and said, "Nothing. We're going to keep playing this music as loud as we can for as long as we can." Then, one of the students began to tell me that it was his way of "relaxing and unwinding," and that it's one of the few times during the day that he could be himself, a Chicano. He told me, "They don't play my kind of music in the student union, they don't play my kind of music out on the student lawn, so when I finally get the chance to come home, not only am I going to play my music, but I'm going to play it loud." "I need it," he said, "it gives me energy."

At that moment I realized that in addition to being a moment of protest against the lack of Chicano music found on campus, music, here, was serving as a source of energy for these students--a source of energy with the function of replenishing their cultural sense of selves. Moreover, I realized that just as human beings require physical nourishment (as a source of energy) for their physical work, these two students as cultural workers required cultural nourishment for their cultural work. What made sense about the loudness of their music was that just as any human being held without food would tend to overeat once food was available, these two students felt the need to turn up the volume to music which, during the day, was not available

to them. "This music gives me energy," I understood to be music as cultural nourishment for their pending cultural work.

Other sources of cultural nourishment I came to understand were their families, friends, language, and role models. In fact, I came to see how these sources of cultural nourishment could also be classified as existing in the same three worlds mentioned earlier, the social, the physical, and the epistemological (see Figure 2). Within the social world, I could see how the students' friends, families, and language, in this case Spanish, were significant sources of cultural nourishment and support. Within the physical world, I had already noticed the role of music, pictures, paintings, and posters found in their dorm room as sources of cultural nourishment. And within the epistemological world, there existed cultural nourishment in the form of knowledge constructed and shared from such sources as family members, role models on campus, books in the library, and courses in Chicano studies.

FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

Final Stage of Framework - Student as Cultural Worker: A Dialectical Framework

Finally, I began to see the dialectical relationship of this framework (see Figure 3). The sources of cultural nourishment can be understood dialectically as the "thesis" by which these students live. Their experience of marginalizing contradictions on campus can be understood as moments in which their "Chicano thesis" collides with a dominant "Anglo antithesis." Finally, the actions they take towards the transformation of the social, physical, and epistemological worlds can be understood as the "working out," or "synthesis," of their thesis with the antithesis, leading finally to a "new thesis" for their socially constructed reality. The nature of this new thesis, however, is not one of alienation nor marginalization, but of cultural transformation and liberation.

FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE

A good example of this framework is the actions or cultural work these students engaged in at their place of work, the computing center. The moment these students walked into this social space they experienced their antithesis; in this case, a social space dominated by a representation of Anglo students and staff. In other words, these students, who originate from a community (and

Figure 2. Stage Two of Framework - Sources of Cultural Nourishment

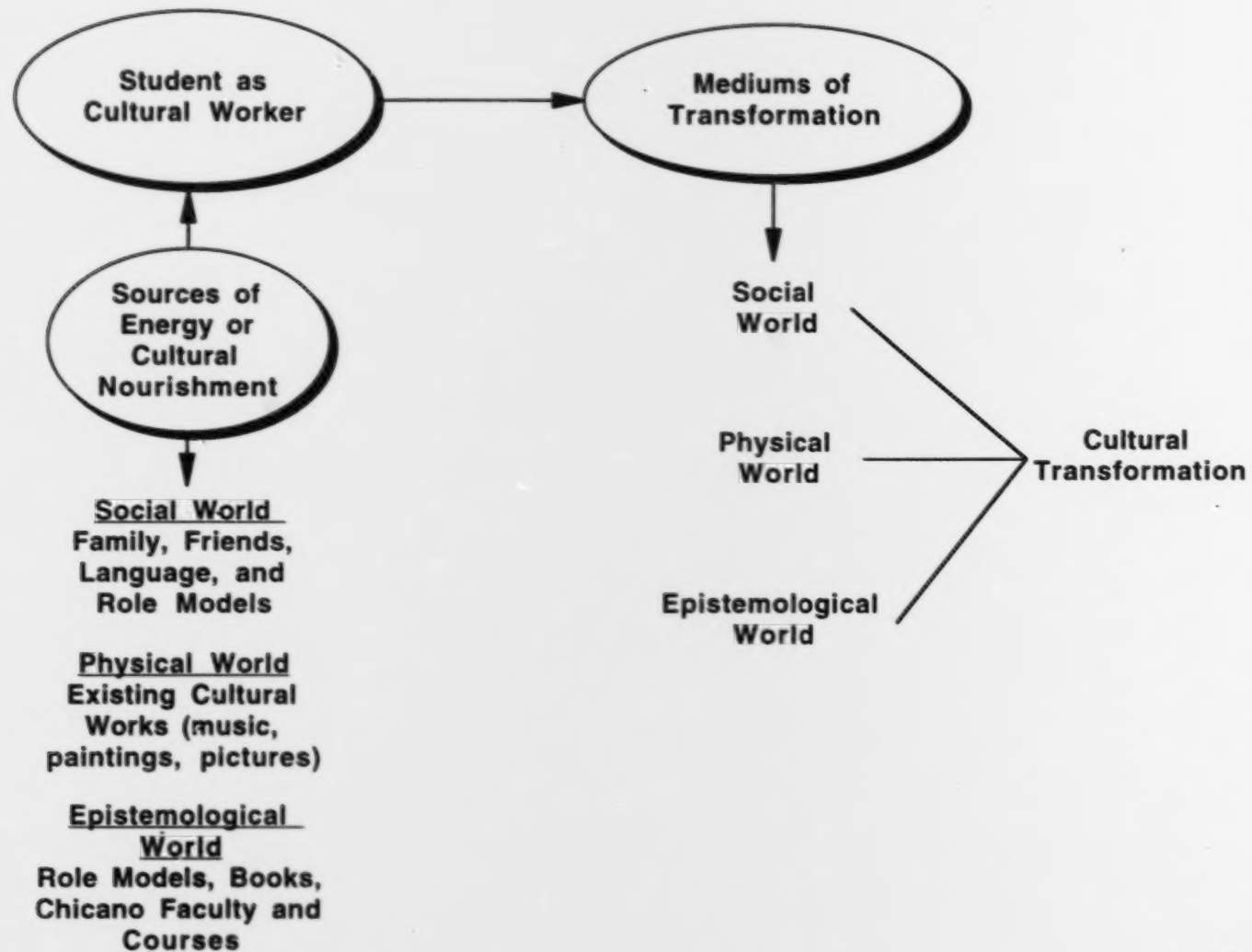
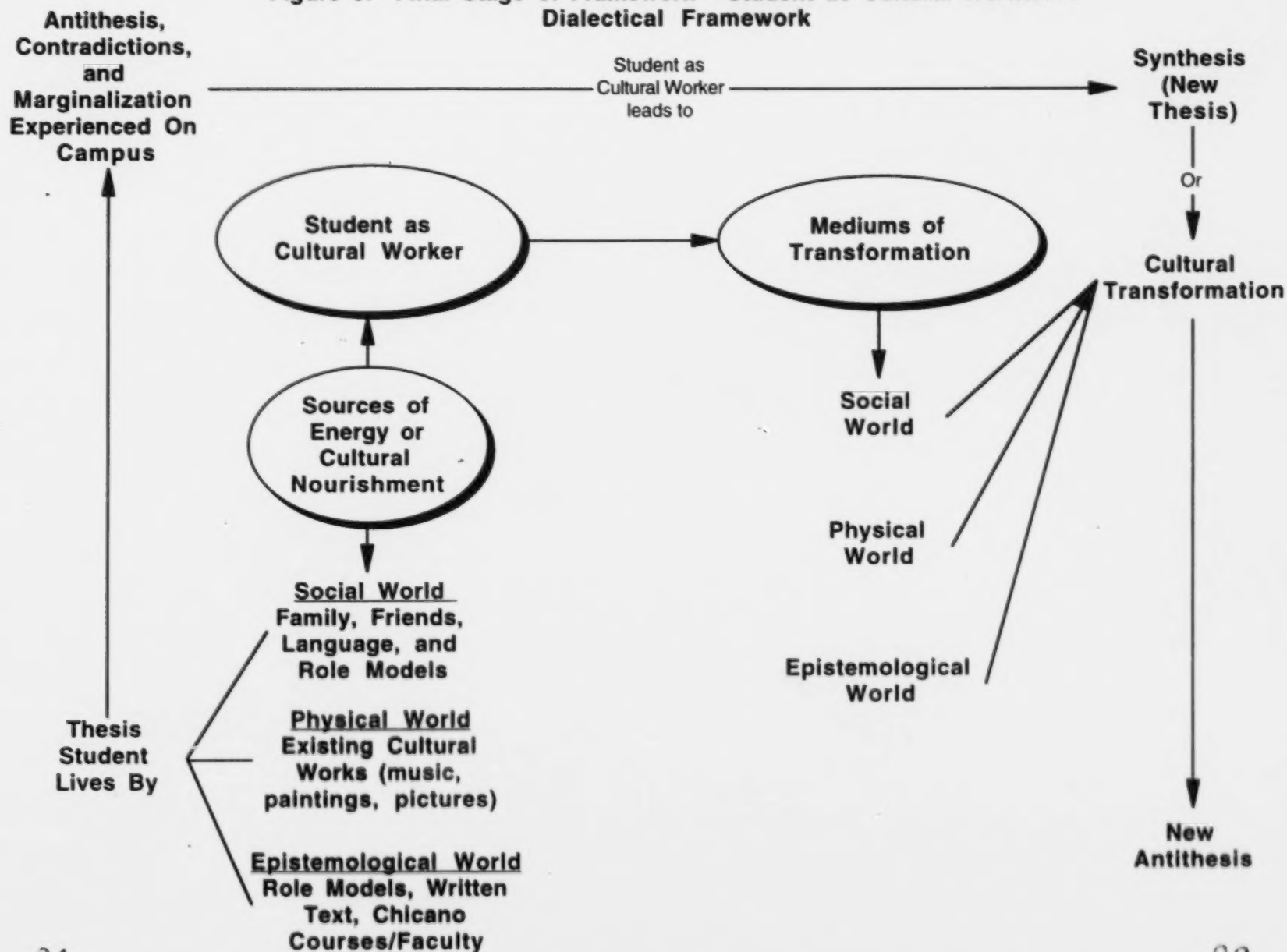


Figure 3. Final Stage of Framework - Student as Cultural Worker: A Dialectical Framework



source of cultural nourishment) represented by a Chicano majority, experience their antithesis when they step out of that community and into a social space represented by an Anglo majority.

In the beginning of their work at the center, the collision of their Chicano thesis with a dominant, Anglo antithesis left marks of alienation and marginalization. However, these students, as evidenced by their cultural work or "working out" of their thesis with an Anglo antithesis, did not see this reality as static nor their actions to change it impossible. As a result, in over a period of six months when each new position opened up at the center, these students recruited a few of their friends (other Chicanos) to work at the center. And, as mentioned earlier, slowly, but surely the staff became more and more Chicano. Moreover, the additional representation of Chicanos in the staff also had an effect on the representation of the student customer population as well. As the staff became more Chicano so too did the student customer population. Faced with alienation and marginalization resulting from their Chicano thesis colliding with a dominant Anglo antithesis, these students became cultural workers and accomplished the transformation of this cultural space.

CONCLUSION

The goal of this study was to construct an alternative conception of minority, specifically Chicano, student participation in predominately Anglo colleges and universities. The framework constructed from this study is different from Tinto's (1987) widely accepted model of student departure in a number of ways. First, the framework presented above was constructed based upon a study of Chicano students as opposed to the traditional, Anglo student population utilized by Tinto. Second, this framework moves the theoretical emphasis of social and academic integration to cultural survival and transformation. Third, this framework highlights the influence of the campus climate (Hurtado, 1994; Hurtado, Carter, & Spuler, 1996) on the Chicano student university experience, or what I refer to as the social, physical, and epistemological worlds of the campus environment. It is within these three asymmetrical systems of representation that the dominant, Anglo, male, middle-class representations, functioning as key mechanisms toward the reproduction of the existing social order, marginalize and alienate these Chicano students.

This framework also sheds light on the importance of the student's family, friends, role models, language, and existing cultural work as critical sources of cultural nourishment. Moreover, this framework highlights the dialectical relationship between these student's critical sources of cultural nourishment (or Chicano thesis) and the marginalizing and alienating university environment made up of three asymmetrical systems of representation (or Anglo antithesis). Finally, the framework presented here conceptualizes the Chicano student as not just an object, acted upon by a dominant, oppressive university environment, but as subjects, acting toward the transformation of this environment.

While this framework begins to illuminate new theoretical constructs for minority student participation in colleges and universities, more work needs to be conducted for a number of reasons. First, this study was limited in at least two important ways: (a) number of research participants and (b) narrow representation of minority students. This study focused on the experiences and actions of only two students, both of Chicano background. Consequently, more works need to be conducted to see how this framework holds up to a larger sample of research participants as well as how this framework helps to explain the participation of other Latino students and students from different minority backgrounds.

From a practical perspective, this study offers an alternative framework that may help college and university administrators and faculty better understand the relationship between the culture of their institutions and the culture possessed and produced by various ethnic and racial minority students. One of the recurrent challenges for many colleges and university administrators is creating a multicultural university environment. The framework suggested here implies that such efforts toward multicultural campuses may not need to occur in a top-down manner initiated by the leadership of the administration, but rather in a bottom-up manner initiated by the leadership of the students.

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